

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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CIO Organizes For November Elections

New Political Action Committee Widens Scope To Take Part in 1944 Campaign

SIDNEY HILLMAN REMAINS LEADER

Method of Raising Funds Changed But Critics Still Contend Group Breaks Laws

An organization which is certain to play a prominent and controversial role in the coming elections is the National Citizens Political Action Committee. It is not a new organization, but it adopted its present name only a short time ago. Previously, it had been known as the CIO Political Action Committee, and many political writers still call it that.

There were two main reasons why it was decided to change the name of this organization. One was for the purpose of expanding its scope so as to include membership other than workers and union officials. The chief reason, however, was that the first-named committee had stirred a nationwide controversy as to its legality. Critics contended that it violated federal laws which prohibit corporations or labor organizations from contributing large sums of money to political candidates and campaigns.

Changes Made

Thus, by changing the name of the organization, by broadening its scope to include members from all walks of life, and by raising money on a voluntary basis instead of relying wholly on union contributions, as had previously been the case, the leaders of this movement hoped to meet the legal objections of their critics.

The new committee, although still headed by Sidney Hillman, one of the prominent officials of the CIO, includes well-known leaders from various fields of endeavor. Some of these are: Louis Adamic, author; Marc Connelly, playwright; Ben Hecht, writer; Edward G. Robinson and Orson Welles, actors; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Harvard professor; Judge John Gutknecht of Chicago Municipal Court. There are also representatives of the banking, business, and industrial worlds.

Since this organization is actively working for the reelection of President Roosevelt, it is naturally opposed by all Republicans. Its opponents contend that the mere changing of names in no way alters its illegal character. Such action, it is argued, is merely a ruse by which to keep the old organization working. Opponents maintain that the new committee, like the old one, is dominated by CIO leaders, and that the bulk of the funds will continue to come from workers in CIO unions. A congressional investigation is planned to determine the truth of these charges.

The origin of the present dispute dates back about a year ago. At that time, Sidney Hillman, president of

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A soldier comes home

Soldier Views Home Front

It is deeply regrettable, but nevertheless a fact, that many of our fighting men on the front lines feel they have been "let down" by the "people back home." They measure their tremendous sacrifices and sweat and toil against the seemingly utopian existence of civilians on the home front, with the result that many of them become embittered by the contrast.

Sergeant Jack Foisie, writing in the New York Times Magazine, discusses this problem rationally and intelligently in the effort to promote closer understanding and better feeling among soldiers and civilians. He is well qualified to speak on the subject, since he spent many months overseas and yet has been back long enough to get the feel of the home front. Here is what he says:

The general feeling of GI's long overseas is that they have been forgotten by the folks back home. Down deep, I think, we know we haven't, but to take an embittered, martyred, sardonic tone helps to cloak one's loneliness.

I brought this bitter feeling back with me; I was prepared to scoff at the reported "sacrifices" and "hardships" of the home front. Now, after seven months in the States, during which I have seen all parts of the country, I still do scoff at the sacrifices and hardships. So, thank goodness, do most of the home-fronters. In comparison to the trials of combat, you have none at all.

At the same time, the production job done by the home front just knocked me over. . . . I know that the home front has won its battle, despite some profiteering and poor management, despite some strikes, despite a hundred other insignificant examples of slacking. We have slackers in the fighting ranks, too.

I know that the mass of the people, deep down, are eager to win the war, primarily, I believe, because they have a personal stake—a son or brother or husband fighting overseas. But the more obvious on-the-surface examples of uneasiness on the home front mar this feeling. Though the unfairness is evident, the fact remains that, in the eyes of the soldiers, strikes are the most angering example of unpatriotism. . . .

Management, too, is guilty of crimes against the war effort, I know. But what made me most angry was the complacency of the people as a whole. At first I was bitter. . . .

And yet now I find myself slipping into the same complacency. It is time for me to go back overseas.

There is and always will be an irreconcilable distance between the front lines and the home front. More so in understanding than in distance. No civilian back here has any idea of what combat is like; even service troops behind the Italian front know little of combat.

Allies Debate Peace Terms for Germany

Question Is Whether Hard Peace Or Soft Peace Should Be Imposed on Losers

WORLD WAR I EXPERIENCE CITED

Boundary Changes, Reparations, Reeducation of Germans Are Among Chief Problems

As the great battles of Europe take place, with the Allies closing in on the Nazi empire from all sides, the question of the future of Germany becomes more acute. In this country and abroad, the debate becomes more and more heated as the hour of victory draws nearer. Numerous organizations have been set up to study the problems connected with the peace settlement. Some of these organizations advocate one type of treatment for a defeated Germany and others propose the opposite. Public opinion veers all the way from the extreme position that Germany should be completely crushed as a nation to the opposite stand that the Germans should be welcomed back into the family of nations as soon as possible.

The essential conflict of opinion is between the advocates of a "hard" peace and those who propose a "soft" peace. Those who stand firmly for a "hard" peace contend that the German problem is not merely a problem of Nazism. They argue that Nazism is but an outward manifestation of an inner German brutality and aggressiveness which can be traced down through the ages. Inasmuch as the German people put the Nazis in power in the first place and have supported the Nazi program of aggression, it is argued, they must be held responsible for the deeds of the Hitler regime. In order to prevent a third world war, the argument continues, the German nation must be given such harsh peace terms that it can never again become powerful enough to threaten the peace of the world.

A "Soft" Peace

The advocates of a "soft" peace for Germany contend that severe peace terms would of themselves sow the seeds of another war. A punitive peace would instill within every German the desire for revenge and unite all Germans behind anyone who offered to rescue them from their plight. It is argued that the only way peace can be established upon a permanent basis is to destroy Nazism and Prussian militarism and then support those elements within Germany which would cooperate with other nations.

Both schools of thought produce considerable historical evidence to support their arguments. The "hard" peace believers contend that the Versailles Treaty is a stark reminder of the consequences of a "soft" peace. They argue that the settlement of 1919 was too lenient toward the Germans, that it failed to destroy their military

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LABOR LEADER. Sidney Hillman, for many years a high official in the CIO, heads up the National Citizens Political Action Committee

CIO Political Action

(Concluded from page 1)

the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and one of the key men in the CIO, together with other leaders of that organization, decided that labor should take a more active part in politics. To accomplish this purpose, they organized the Political Action Committee. They raised money to carry on its activities by seeking contributions from CIO unions. Altogether, they have raised about \$750,000, and at least two of the larger unions have contributed \$100,000 each. It is estimated that about \$190,000 of this money has been spent thus far.

Members of local CIO unions all over the country joined the Political Action Committee. Their activities were directed from the national headquarters in Washington. They were taught many of the same techniques that are used by local political machines. They were assigned to certain streets in their communities. It was their job to go from house to house, telling people when it was time to register and urging them to vote in the primaries. These committee workers told their "neighbors" where various candidates stood on public issues. Naturally, they asked support for candidates with "good labor records."

Up to now, the main test of strength of the Political Action Committee has been in primary elections. While there is a difference of opinion over how effective this committee has been in electing or defeating candidates, the majority of political observers give it credit for having been the decisive influence in a number of primary elections. Arthur Krock, well-known writer for the New York Times, considers the Political Action Committee one of the highly significant political developments in recent years. Its most important setback was its inability to win the vice-presidential nomination for Henry A. Wallace.

Plan of Attack

PAC leaders have definitely made it clear that, in congressional contests, they would support the candidates with the best records, whether they be Democrats or Republicans. In the presidential race, however, they made their decision, even before Dewey was nominated, to back President Roosevelt for a fourth term.

There has been one big obstacle in the way of the election plans of the PAC leaders; namely, two federal laws which are intended to restrict large-scale political activities either by labor organizations or corporations. One of these is the Hatch Political

Activities Act. It states in part:

It is hereby declared to be a pernicious political activity, and it shall hereafter be unlawful, for any person, directly or indirectly, to make contributions in an aggregate amount in excess of \$5,000, during any calendar year, or in connection with any campaign for nomination or election to or on behalf of any candidate for an elective federal office (including Presidential electors), or to or on behalf of any committee or other organization engaged in furthering, advancing, or advocating the nomination or election of any candidate for any such office or the success of any national political party.

The term "person" includes an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, and any other organization or group of persons.

The Smith-Connally Act, which was passed last year, places a similar restriction on groups such as the Political Action Committee. It contains this provision:

It is unlawful for any national bank, or any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress, to make a contribution in connection with any election to any political officer, or for any corporation whatever, or any labor organization to make a contribution in connection with any election at which Presidential and Vice Presidential electors or a Senator or Representative in, or a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to Congress are to be voted for, or for any candidate, political committee, or other person to accept or receive any contribution prohibited by this section.

Those candidates who felt that they had been defeated by PAC opposition, as well as Roosevelt opponents generally, insisted that the activities of this organization were illegal and should be halted. PAC leaders, on the other hand, argued that they had a right to work for candidates at primary elections, since these were contests within the parties and not between them. Since they were not



Orson Welles is among the stars of the entertainment world who are members of the Political Action Committee

actually elections, it was contended, the Political Action Committee was not prohibited by law from taking part in the primaries. Leaders of the committee said that they would stay within the law and would not spend labor funds when the election campaign actually got under way.

Consequently, a few days before the Democratic National Convention, the new Political Action Committee was launched. It was announced that the funds which had already been collected from unions would be "frozen" until after the November elections, and that money for the new organization would be raised solely by voluntary contribution of its members. The new organization, it is maintained, cannot be accused of violating federal law.

Opponents still insist, however, that it does. They point out that the Hatch law prohibits any "individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, and any other organization or group of persons" from contributing more than \$5,000 to the political campaign of any candidate for federal office. Hence, it is claimed, the new organization, even if it were not dominated by CIO leaders, would nevertheless be illegal.

Supporters of the Political Action Committee hit back at their critics with force. They point out that the National Industrial Information Committee, a division of the National Association of Manufacturers, spent \$1,380,000 last year for "press services, radio time, motion pictures, study materials and pamphlets for schools, group cooperative conferences with educators, churchmen, farmers and housewives, speakers' bureaus and other activities."

Action by Industry

Most of this "propaganda" put out by the National Association of Manufacturers, according to supporters of the Political Action Committee, is directed, either openly or subtly, against the Roosevelt administration. It is constantly seeking to create the impression that President Roosevelt is trying to destroy free enterprise. Moreover, it is argued further, the NAM is not content with spending only \$1,380,000 a year for its anti-Roosevelt propaganda campaign, but is planning to spend twice this amount during 1944. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., chairman of the General Motors Corporation, who is in charge of the NAM campaign, recently said:

The public's attitude toward free enterprise will depend in the long run upon the degree to which we are able to dramatize it as a vital force for the betterment of people. . . . If we thus gain their confidence, they will then be sympathetic to our recommendations regarding those national policies essential if free enterprise is to accomplish the maximum.

Another group condemned by PAC supporters is Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government. It spent \$300,000 for "propaganda" in 1943, most of which was against the Roosevelt administration.

Finally, it is argued, corporations have been carrying expensive ads during the war, many of which have not been for the purpose of selling their products but rather for the purpose of trying to defeat Roosevelt. They all adopt the same line, it is claimed, of inferring that President Roosevelt is against "free enterprise" in favor of "government regimentation."

Such is the nature of the controversy between those who oppose and favor the National Citizens Political Action Committee. Some impartial observers feel that a congressional

investigation should be made of political spending on the part of both labor and industry. They believe that the only long-range solution, however, is for those people who think in terms of national rather than group interest to inform themselves better and to take more active interest in politics.

In conclusion, it is important to note that labor as a whole is not behind the Political Action Committee. The American Federation of Labor, rival organization of the CIO, is strongly opposed to labor's participation in politics. It takes the position that unions should not become identified with one party or the other, but should be constantly bringing pressure to bear on both parties to improve the conditions of workers.

For example, it is argued, suppose that all organized labor supported the Roosevelt administration as openly as the CIO is backing it. Then if the Republicans should win the election, they might not do as much for labor as they otherwise would. So goes the argument of William Green and other AFL leaders.

They contend, on the other hand, that if labor does not act as a political



"Jobs for All" is one of the chief slogans of the Political Action Committee

unit, and that if the politicians are not certain how organized workers will cast their ballots, then both parties will make promises and do all they can to compete for the support of unions. This policy of keeping the parties guessing about what labor, as a whole, is going to do, it is said, has been highly successful and should not be abandoned.

The CIO leaders feel differently, however, and they maintain that the time has come for organized workers to play an active political role, openly supporting men and administrations whose records indicate that they will be sympathetic to labor.

The Democratic Party Platform

The Democratic party stands on its record in peace and in war. To speed victory, establish and maintain peace, guarantee full employment and provide prosperity—this is its platform. We do not here detail scores of planks. We cite action.

The Party Record: Domestic

Beginning March, 1933, the Democratic administration took a series of actions which saved our system of free enterprise.

It brought that system out of collapse and thereafter eliminated abuses which had imperiled it.

It used the powers of government to provide employment in industry and to save agriculture.

It wrote a new Magna Carta for labor.

It provided social security, including old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, security for crippled and dependent children and the blind. It established employment offices. It provided Federal Bank Deposit Insurance, flood prevention, soil conservation and prevented abuses in the security markets. It saved farms and homes from foreclosure and secured profitable prices for farm products.

It adopted an effective program of reclamation, hydroelectric power, and mineral development.

It found the road to prosperity through production and employment.

We pledge the continuance and improvement of these programs.

The Party Record: International

Before war came the Democratic administration awakened the nation, in time, to the dangers that threatened its very existence.

It succeeded in building, in time, the best-trained and equipped Army in the world, the most powerful Navy in the world, the greatest air force in the world, and the largest merchant marine in the world.

It gained for our country, and it saved for our country, powerful allies.

When war came it succeeded in working out with those allies an effective grand strategy against the enemy.

It set that strategy in motion and the tide of battle was turned.

It held the line against wartime inflation. It insured a fair share-and-share-alike distribution of food and other essentials.

It is leading our country to certain victory.

The War and the Peace

The primary and imperative duty of the United States is to wage war with every resource available to final triumph over our enemies, and we pledge that we will continue to fight side by side with the United Nations until this supreme objective shall have been attained and thereafter to secure a just and lasting peace.

That the world may not again be drenched in blood by international outlaws and criminals, we pledge:

To join with the other United Nations in the establishment of an international organization based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the prevention of aggression and the maintenance of international peace and security;

To make all necessary and effective agreements and arrangements through which the nations would maintain adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and of

making impossible the preparation for war and which would have such forces available for joint action when necessary.

Such organization must be endowed with power to employ armed forces when necessary to prevent aggression and preserve peace.

We favor the maintenance of an international court of justice of which the United States shall be a member and the employment of diplomacy, conciliation, arbitration, and other like methods where appropriate in the settlement of international disputes.

World peace is of transcendent importance. Our gallant sons are dying on land, on sea, and in the air. They do not die as Republicans. They do not die as Democrats. They die as Americans. We pledge that their blood shall not have been shed in vain. America has the opportunity to lead the world in this great service to mankind. The United States must meet the challenge. Under Divine Providence, she must move forward to her high destiny.

Foreign Affairs

We pledge our support to the Atlantic Charter and the four freedoms and the application of the principles enunciated therein to the United Nations and other peace-loving nations large and small.

We shall uphold the good-neighbor policy and extend the trade policies initiated by the present administration.

We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

Domestic Affairs

We favor legislation assuring equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex.

We recommend to Congress the submission of a constitutional amendment on equal rights for women.

We favor Federal aid to education administered by the states without interference by the Federal government.

We favor Federal legislation to assure stability of products, employment, distribution, and prices in the bituminous coal industry to create a proper balance between consumer, producer, and mine worker.

We indorse the President's statement recognizing the importance of the use of water in arid-land states for domestic and irrigation purposes.

We favor non-discriminatory transportation charges and declare for the early correction of inequalities in such charges.

We favor enactment of legislation granting the fullest measure of self-government for Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico and eventual statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

We favor the extension of the right of suffrage to the people of the District of Columbia.

Postwar Programs

We offer these postwar programs:

A continuation of our policy of full benefits for ex-service men and women, with special consideration for the disabled. We make it our first duty to assure employment and economic security to all who have served in the defense of our country.

Price guarantees and crop insurance to farmers with all practical steps: to keep agriculture on a parity with industry and labor; to foster the success of the small, independent farmer; to aid the home ownership of

family-sized farms; to extend rural electrification and develop broader domestic and foreign markets for agricultural products.

Adequate compensation for workers during demobilization.

The enactment of such additional humanitarian, labor, social, and farm legislation as time and experience may require, including the amendment or repeal of any law enacted in recent years which has failed to accomplish its purpose.

Promotion of the success of small business.

Earliest possible release of wartime controls.

Adaptation of tax laws to an expanding peacetime economy, with simplified structure and wartime taxes reduced or repealed as soon as possible.

Encouragement of risk capital, new enterprise, development of natural resources in the West and other parts of the country and the immediate reopening of the gold and silver mines of the West as soon as manpower is available.

We reassert our faith in competitive private enterprise free from control by monopolies, cartels, or any arbitrary private or public authority.

Freedom and Social Justice

We assert that mankind believes in the Four Freedoms.

We believe that the country which has the greatest measure of social justice is capable of the greatest achievements.

Racial and Religious Minorities

We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights.

International Freedoms

We believe that, without loss of sovereignty, world development and lasting peace are within humanity's grasp. They will come with the greater enjoyment of those freedoms by the peoples of the world and with the freer flow among them of ideas and goods.

We believe in the world right of all men to write, send, and publish news at uniform communication rates and without interference by governmental or private monopoly and that right should be protected by treaty.

Conclusion

To these beliefs the Democratic party subscribes.

These principles the Democratic party pledges itself in solemn sincerity to maintain.

Finally, this convention sends its affectionate greetings to our beloved and matchless leader and President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

He stands before the nation and the world the champion of human liberty and dignity. He has rescued our people from the ravages of economic disaster. His rare foresight and magnificent courage have saved our nation from the assault of international brigands and dictators. Fulfilling the ardent hope of his life, he has already laid the foundation of enduring peace for a troubled world and the well-being for our nation. All mankind is his debtor. His life and service have been a great blessing to humanity.

That God may keep him strong in body and in spirit to carry on his yet unfinished work is our hope and prayer.

The Story of the Week

European War Fronts

As we go to press, the full effect of the turmoil inside Germany on her troops at the fighting fronts is not yet known. As the information seeps through to the German soldiers, and they realize that there is confusion among their military and political leaders, they may show evidence of losing confidence and a fighting spirit.

It is guesswork to say what may therefore happen to the German military machine. If the soldiers' confidence ebbs sufficiently, panic may sweep through their ranks, and the harshest measures may fail to suppress it. On the other hand, the German leaders may succeed through clever propaganda in playing down the seriousness of recent events and thus keep the armies intact and fighting.

Allied leaders and soldiers are therefore not banking too much on what may develop, but are pressing ahead at full strength. On the eastern front, the Germans are in retreat at many points. Soviet forces in the north have recaptured Pskov, gateway to Estonia and the last major German-held Russian city. The northern campaign may result in the destruction of 300,000 enemy troops in the Baltic.

Other Russian advances are driving the enemy back from large areas of Poland, and the ticklish question of who shall govern liberated Poland once again is causing headaches. As far as they are concerned, the Russians are ignoring the exiled Polish government in London and are entrusting certain powers to a Polish Committee of National Liberation, whose creation was announced in Moscow. How this action will be received by the other Allies remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, Allied armies in France are making some gains, and showing signs of resuming the offensive drives which were recently bogged down by rain and mud. The campaign there is not yet spectacular, but the stage is set for it to become so almost any day. In Italy, too, the enemy is slowly giving ground.

Senator Truman

Senator Harry S. Truman, Democratic nominee for Vice-President, has a typically American background. He began as a farmer in Lamar, Missouri, served with distinction in the last war as artillery captain, ran a small busi-

ness in Kansas City, and married his childhood sweetheart.

Mr. Truman's political career began in 1922 when he was elected judge in the County Court of Jackson, Missouri. In the years that followed he remained friendly with Tom Pendergast, Democratic boss of Kansas City, who was convicted of income tax evasion. The fact that the Pendergast machine helped him win his first election to the United States Senate caused some criticism, but his personal integrity helped him to live that down during his years in office.

Comparatively obscure until the early days of the war, Mr. Truman first gained national recognition by exposing needless waste in the spending of Army funds and mismanagement of war contracts. As chairman of the special Senate investigations committee, he uncovered facts which resulted in the presidential appointment of Donald Nelson as head of the War Production Board, thereby placing the responsibility of war-spending under one man.

With the war and the national and international problems it involves consuming most of the President's time and energy, Mr. Truman is facing a campaign in which he will have to carry the bulk of the load. Although not a forceful orator he has a convincing and straightforward manner which has strong appeal. Too, his experience as a farmer and small business man has given him a practical understanding of the varied groups which elect or defeat a candidate.

"Big Four" Meeting

Diplomats from the "Big Four" powers—the United States, Great Britain, Russia, and China—will meet in Washington early in August to discuss the establishment of an international organization for maintaining peace. As the conferences will be devoted to "exploratory conversations," it is not expected that a definite, final agreement will be reached. The tentative proposals of the Big Four will subsequently be taken up with the other United Nations.

Washington observers predict that the diplomats will agree upon proposals for an international organization with a structure similar to that of the League of Nations, but with power more concentrated in the four nations at the top. Whether or not such an



MOUNTAIN OF TIRES. Stacked high outside a Los Angeles rubber plant, these synthetic rubber tires await shipment to the nation's armed forces

arrangement will be acceptable to the smaller countries remains to be seen. A question yet to be decided is whether the organization should be established as soon as possible or whether it should wait until after the end of the war.

There will be two meetings. First, the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, and Russia will assemble; then the Russians will leave and Chinese delegates will join the group. It is reported that the Russians are unwilling to sit at the same conference table with the Chinese because of the fact that Russia is not at war with Japan.

International Agreements

The extent to which the United States has gone in determining post-war policy is revealed by the fact that this country is already involved in nine major international agreements which directly or indirectly have to do with postwar affairs:

- On August 14, 1941, the United States and Great Britain drew up the Atlantic Charter, pledging themselves to make trade and raw materials equally available to all nations and to work for improved economic standards.

- February 23, 1942, saw the beginning of Lend-Lease, now extended to 17 nations. This pact seeks to guarantee fair competition for post-war trade.

- Plans for feeding the world were formulated by 44 nations meeting at Hot Springs, Virginia, in May 1943.

- The Moscow Pact was signed on November 1, 1943, by Russia, Britain, the United States, and China. This historic agreement heralded the establishment of an international organization to insure the peace, promised punishment to war criminals, and opened the way for peacetime regulation of armaments.

- Representatives of 44 nations

meeting from November 12 to December 1, 1943, in the United States organized the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to feed, house, and aid liberated peoples.

- At the Cairo Conference, from November 22 to November 26, 1943, China, Britain, and the United States laid plans for stripping from Japan her stolen gains.

- At Teheran, from November 28 to December 1, 1943, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin considered plans for prosecution of the war, and also pledged cooperation of their nations to eliminate tyranny, oppression, and intolerance.

- In April 1944, delegates from 45 nations met at the International Labor Organization conference in Philadelphia and wrote a world labor charter which seeks to guarantee jobs, fair wages, and economic security.

- An international trade program was designed by the United Nations



FDR'S RUNNING MATE. Senator Harry S. Truman, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, goes over his plans with Mrs. Truman

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Monetary Conference held during the first three weeks of this month at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire.

Thus, step by step, the necessities of war have forced us to organize, and this organization provides "the scaffolding on which the world order of the future is very likely to be built."

Gandhi Makes Concessions

Two of the obstacles on which the famous Cripps Mission broke its back in April 1942 were (1) the question of whether a free India should be divided into separate Hindu and Moslem states or remain united, and (2) the demands of nationalist leaders for immediate and full freedom contrasted with the insistence of the British that they retain certain powers—including those of war and defense, at least until the end of the war. Both sides remained adamant, and the jailing of all major Congress leaders in August 1942 brought an end to the possibility of negotiations.

The first break in this impasse came a few days ago with the startling announcement by Mohandas Gandhi (who was released from prison early in May because of serious illness) that he was willing to modify his stand on both scores. He sent word to the Moslem leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, that he would accept the principle of Hindu-Moslem separation if necessary, and let people of mixed areas decide in post-war plebiscites whether they would join the Hindu or the Moslem state. And to the British he offered support of the war effort, a promise not to revive the civil disobedience campaign during the war, and the suggestion that an Indian government be set up in which the British would continue to control the war effort.

These overtures, resembling in many ways an acceptance of the Cripps Plan, represent tremendous concessions on the part of Gandhi. Whether they have the support of the jailed Congress leaders is not known, but it may well be that they will open the way to the solution of the bitter Indian deadlock.

Recapture of Guam

Guam, the largest island in the Marianas, was the first American possession to be lost to the Japanese. Last week, in the wake of the capture of Saipan, American Marines were fighting to bring Guam under the Stars and Stripes again, while their buddies were fighting on Tinian, a third member of the Marianas directly below Saipan. Rota is the only other island of any importance in the group.

Control of Guam and the other Marianas places the Allies in a highly strategic position for decisive blows against the enemy. These islands are in a key spot on the direct supply lane from the Hawaiian Islands to the Philippines, and outflank all major Japanese bases in the South Pacific. Between Saipan and Tokyo lie only the small Bonin and Volcano Islands, of no critical importance. We are now

only about 1,500 miles from Tokyo and roughly comparable distances from China and the Philippines.

Guam fell originally to the United States as a prize of the Spanish-American War. Twenty-six miles long and from four to eight miles wide, it provides excellent sea facilities (which Saipan lacks) as well as valuable air bases. It is a volcanic island framed with coral reefs and possesses strong natural defenses. Such man-made defenses as it has are largely Japanese, for the United States had not made much progress on fortifications.

Exit Tojo

The American people are wisely refusing to become highly optimistic over the breakup of the Japanese government, but the change is accepted as convincing evidence that our Pacific war campaign is meeting with high success. Nothing less than critical failures, with a resulting loss of confidence, could have caused the downfall of Dictator Tojo and his entire cabinet.

The Japanese themselves admitted as much when General Kuniaki Koiso became premier and formed a new cabinet, with Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai as his deputy. In their unguarded statements, they were frankly worried.

The move, however, cannot be construed as a promise of changed policy in Japan, as both Koiso and Yonai are representative of the same fanatically nationalistic military group as Tojo himself. General Koiso was most recently governor general of Korea, while Yonai is best remembered as the Japanese premier in the critical days of 1940. Actually, it is expected that the new leaders will try for a more effective version of Tojo's policies.

While the breakup of the Japanese government was precipitated by the loss of Saipan in the Marianas, dissatisfaction with Tojo had been brewing as our victories mounted all this year. It had grown so intense that he is not only out of the government, but is retired from the army as well, although at 59 he is not considered old for a general.

Liberated France

Slowly and painfully, the liberated towns of northern France are coming back to life. Already refugees are returning to Caen and Cherbourg and neighboring villages to rebuild their shattered homes.

In the cities such as Cherbourg, rapid strides have been made toward a peacetime way of life. Three days after the city's capture by our forces, the water system, partly destroyed by the Germans, was functioning. Some 15,000 refugees who fled the city last month have come home. Stores have been reopened, and even such luxuries as veal and steak are to be found occasionally.

In the villages, the farmers are mak-



FRENCH UNDERGROUND. Fighting Frenchmen, after sharing the latest reports on the enemy, join an American soldier in a meal of field rations

ing their own adjustments. They are driving their cattle and poultry back to shell-pitted fields and bomb-shattered barns. Methodically, they are filling the craters and repairing wrecked buildings insofar as limited supplies of material permit.

Although the first thrill of welcoming the men who lifted the Nazi yoke from their shoulders has passed, the people of Normandy are still deeply thankful to Allied soldiers. It is reported that they greet them with the "V for Victory" sign, and throw flowers at passing jeeps.

The Federal Ballot

A note on this page in last week's issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER stated that 19 states had authorized the use of the "federal ballot" by servicemen. The revised total is 20 states, as follows:

California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Vermont, and Washington.

In addition to overseas members of the armed forces from these states, others who will have the opportunity of using the federal ballot include employees of the Merchant Marine, the American Red Cross, and some other civilians attached to and serving with the armed forces outside continental United States. However, not all of these voters will utilize the federal ballot, for its use is further restricted to those who will have first applied for a state ballot before September 1 and who do not receive it by October 1.

Fighting Brazil

Of the several Latin American republics which have declared war on Germany, only Brazil has so far sent armed forces overseas to fight the Nazis. The first Brazilian soldiers to arrive in Europe landed in Naples two weeks ago. They will soon join the

British, American, Canadian, French, and Polish troops fighting in Italy.

Government spokesmen described the new development as "another and great proof of the collaboration of the United States of Brazil and the United States of America." Prior to this event, Brazil had been actively engaged in the war chiefly in war production and in combatting submarines in the South Atlantic. Planes of the Brazilian air force are credited with having sunk 14 enemy U-boats.

The Brazilian troops now ready to fight in Italy received extensive training in their homeland before embarking for Europe. Thousands of additional soldiers, now in training, will soon be ready to join their comrades overseas to help speed victory for the United Nations.

SMILES

"Johnny," said his mother severely, "someone has taken a big piece of cake out of the pantry."

Johnny blushed guiltily, and fidgeted around.

"Oh, Johnny," she exclaimed, "I didn't think it was in you!"

"It ain't all," replied Johnny. "Part of it is in Elsie."

On reaching the age of 14, Henry started work in a lawyer's office. At the end of his first day his father asked him: "Well, my boy, how do you like your job?"

"I don't think much of it," replied Henry disdainfully. "Too dull and dry. I'm sorry I learned it."

A man went to a soda fountain, ordered a sundae, ate it, chewed up the bowl of the dish, and threw the stem over his shoulder. He continued this for about four sundaes and noticed that the soda jerk was staring at him.

"I guess you think I'm crazy, don't you?" he asked.

"I sure do," the soda jerk replied. "The stems are the best part."

One might think that even the most credulous Japs would wonder now and then why their great naval victories keep getting nearer and nearer home.—BOSTON HERALD.

A traveling salesman got held up in the Orkney Islands on account of bad storms and sent a telegram to his firm in Scotland saying: "Marooned by storm. Wire instructions."

Back came the canny reply: "Start summer vacation as of yesterday."

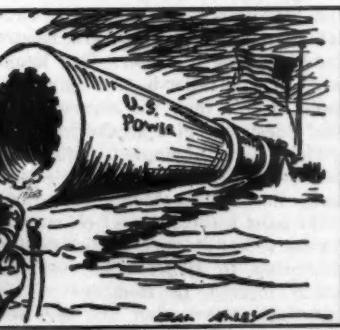
The man fishing from the river bank landed a pike about two feet long, but threw it back. Later he caught a large trout, and this he also threw back.

Five minutes later he caught a small perch, and put it into his bag. As he rose to go a fellow fisherman asked him why he had thrown two beautiful fish back and kept a small one.

"Well," he replied, "my frying pan is only nine inches wide!"



Japan Is Still a Long Way Off



ALLEY IN NASHVILLE BANNER

Allies Watch Signs of Nazi Weakness

IT is still too early to tell, at this time of writing, whether Hitler and his Nazi associates have been able to stamp out the revolt of high Junker military officers in such a way as to carry on the war for a while longer, or whether the crisis will continue, leading to a crack-up in the immediate future. Whatever happens, the intense bitterness between the old-line Prussian military clique and the "upstart" Nazi officers is certain to bring the war to a quicker end than would be the case if there were complete unity between these two groups.

Much depends upon the state of conditions on the German home front as to whether or not Hitler will be able to hold his fighting forces together very much longer in the face of inevitable defeat from without and rapidly growing discontent and disunity from within. Again and again we have heard that the German people have not the resources to keep on fighting. Again and again we have been assured that Hitler has lost his power and that hardship and the expectation of defeat have brought the subjugated citizenry to the brink of revolt.

But subsequent developments have always belied these statements. We have come to realize that many such ideas are planted by the German propagandists to throw us off guard and make us complacent. Of course, there is no question that the latest upheaval in Germany is an *actual fact*, not fiction. But until we have concrete evidence of what it really means, both to the war and possibly to the peace, we can only piece together certain basic information which may help us to understand more clearly the developments which are occurring.

Internal Situation

Some reasonable picture of the internal situation in Germany can be obtained from these sources:

Captured German soldiers—including generals and other high officers—have shown an increasing inclination to talk about the state of things at home. Our own propaganda experts have become increasingly skillful in reading between the lines of Axis news releases, both published and broadcast. And the several newsmen who returned to this country on the *Gripsholm* with the last group of American internees have brought with them telling observations of the German home front.

Perhaps the basic information we are seeking involves the question of how well the average German lives after almost five years of war. Is he well fed? Has his health been maintained? Is he suffering the effects of an inflation like that of the last war?

From what British economic warfare experts have been able to learn, there is still enough food to go around in Germany, but the supply will be seriously menaced in the near future. A basic ration of 85 ounces of bread, nine of meat, eight of sugar, seven and a half of fats, and two pints of skimmed milk assures the average German of an adequate though monotonous diet. But bad weather conditions and fertilizer shortages have resulted in the smallest potato crop in 20 years in Germany, according to the Germans themselves. Since potatoes are the staple food in Germany, this means a dark outlook for the future.

Even the intensive bombings of recent months have not been able to disrupt the Reich's rigid price control

and rationing system. Both black markets and inflation have been held down by harsh enforcement of these wartime controls. Execution awaits the violator of the law if his offense is serious and scarcely less drastic penalties if it is a minor one.

Although these restrictions assure a fair distribution of food and other necessities of life, they cannot circumvent increasingly serious shortages of other goods in Germany. Soap, new clothes, and house furnishings are almost unobtainable, according to the internees who recently left the country. Stores may keep a few

and stupid" German officers plotting to eliminate him and his government.

Speaking to assure the world that he had survived the attempted assassination, Hitler emphasized the smallness of the group of officers and the fact that they were being rounded up and ruthlessly exterminated. Those who followed his speech closely, however, noted that he commanded all soldiers to disobey orders contrary to Nazi policy and to kill or arrest those who gave them. This they took to mean that what Hitler and the Nazi inner circle were facing was a full-scale revolt engineered by some of the

tapo. With the announcement that there had been an attempt on the Führer's life, came word that Himmler had been given a new post as commander-in-chief inside Germany, with full authority over both the civilian economy and the internal military forces. Himmler's special and immediate function is to "crush the usurpers," in Hitler's words, and the power delegated to him under the new decree should make him as much of a dictator as Hitler himself.

This appointment is also important as an indication that the German people have roused to throw off the Nazi yoke even if only in exchange for that of the generals. It is clear that Hitler feels it necessary to mobilize for internal defense as well as against the advancing United Nations.

Hitler has labeled the disturbance in Germany as an attempt to prepare for surrender with a change of regime. In his recent speech he lashed out against those who would repeat the shame of 1918.

Line of Propaganda

Up to now the work of Propaganda Minister Goebbels has apparently kept the national morale about the war reasonably intact. The German people may not believe they are going to win, but Goebbels has convinced them that certain doom will accompany defeat.

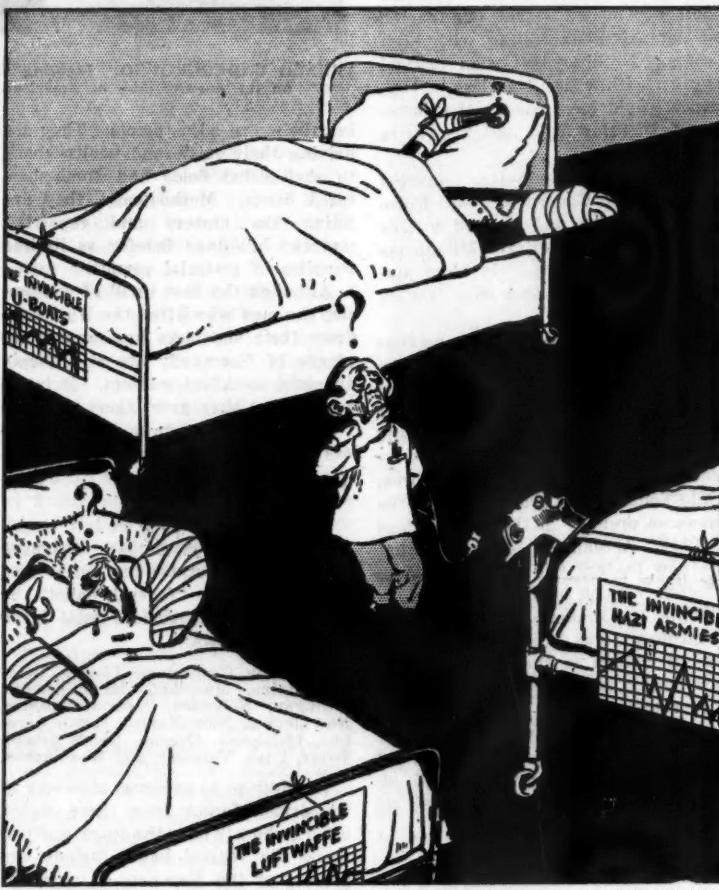
Interned newspapermen who left Germany a few months ago report that Goebbels has kept the home front reasonably well informed about the facts of the military situation, confining his propaganda effort to interpretation of these facts and to warnings about the results of defeat.

According to the repatriated newspapermen, German accounts of Allied advances are remarkably like ours. The people know what cities have been captured and how far their armies have been forced to retreat. Having been trained in things military, many of them know what this means in terms of the outcome of the war. But Goebbels, until the recent revolt, still tried to interpret away the true significance of German reverses.

Bombings, for example, have been exploited to the fullest extent. Goebbels' propagandists have carefully ignored Germany's own record in bombing undefended cities and concentrated on telling the people over and over again that in the bombing of their homes which has been going on for the past months they have a foretaste of what awaits them if they surrender.

Nor has the Communist bogie been abandoned. Summoning the entire nation to give its last ounce of strength in a final all-out effort, the propaganda machine grinds out new and doubly horrible visions of the Bolshevik menace which awaits Europe in the event of Axis defeat.

In summary it might be said that the German people are both living better and maintaining their morale better than we might have hoped. They are not yet suffering real privation of the kind which could bring about their collapse. While many or even most of them have lost their faith in both Nazism and Nazi victory, a majority are still determined to fight on as long as their armies can be kept in the field. So any immediate crack-up is expected to occur only if the conflict within the armed forces becomes so serious that the war can no longer be carried on.



The War Is Now a Puzzle

items in their windows for display purposes, but their shelves contain little that is for sale. A widespread barter system has been introduced to facilitate the best possible distribution of even the used goods the country still affords.

One of the areas in which shortages have been most keenly felt is medical supplies. Most of these have been cornered for the army's use, and civilians—even children—must do without. Under the bombings communicable disease has been increasing and with it the home front death rate.

These facts, combined with the psychological effect of huge casualty lists and bad news from the front, have naturally lowered both general morale and confidence in Hitler. But it appears that the latter is showing a more rapid decline than the average German's desire to give up the war.

There are numerous indications that the present Nazi position in Germany has become highly precarious—the most spectacular, of course, being the recent attempt on Hitler's life. According to Hitler, the explosion which injured 13 members of his personal military staff and left him slightly burned and bruised was the work of a small clique of "ambitious

older generals, all of whom have been notoriously dissatisfied with Hitler's war strategy. Some even felt that the assassination try might have been deliberately staged by the Nazis as an excuse for purging dissident elements in the ranks of the Junkers.

Lieutenant General Hoffmeister, recently taken prisoner by the Russians, issued a statement saying that he and his colleagues had long since lost confidence in Hitler's ability to lead the Reich to victory. And their dissatisfaction, he claimed, is reflected in all segments of the population.

In the last few months, Hitler's inner circle has been changing constantly. Military leaders have succeeded each other in the Führer's favor with lightning rapidity as the military situation worsened. The position of Hitler's old party favorites has become ambiguous. Goering, once his right-hand man, is reported to be definitely in the background. Goebbels was silenced for a number of days after the recent revolt broke out; he may or may not be back on the scene by the time this paper reaches its readers.

The one traditional party leader who still looms large in Germany is Heinrich Himmler, chief of the Ges-

Terms for Germany

(Concluded from page 1)

tradition or even their military power, and that despite all its provisions for disarmament, the Germans were able in 20 years to become a greater threat to the world than they had ever been.

Others reply that the Versailles Treaty is an example of the results of a harsh peace settlement. They say that the terms of that treaty were so severe that they planted within the souls of all Germans the burning desire for revenge and the desire to undo the injustices imposed upon them. Hitler was able to win the Germans to his cause only because he expressed this inner desire for revenge. Had the Germans been treated fairly after the last war, it is argued, they would not have listened to him and would have cooperated with the rest of Europe.

These arguments will become more intense as the war continues and probably after it has ended. While the two schools of thought are diametrically opposed in most of their contention, they are agreed upon one important consideration. There can be no peace in Europe or in the world until the German problem has been solved.

It may well be that the final settlement of the European war will be neither a "hard" nor a "soft" peace in the sense that people now interpret those terms. It is possible that the terms will be both harsh and easy, depending upon the evolution that takes place during the next few years inside Germany. Certainly the early period following the close of hostilities will be marked by many restrictions imposed upon the Germans. The leaders of the United Nations are determined on this point. But that does not mean that the long-range treatment of Germany will be considered a "hard" peace.

As a matter of fact, it seems probable that the world will not emerge overnight from a state of war to a state of peace. The process of peacemaking after this conflict may extend over a period of many years. There may be no formal peace conference as there was after the last war or

document, rigid and not subject to change.

Whatever formula is followed in restoring peace to the world, it is certain that the Germans will have to abide by many conditions before the war is finally liquidated. Allied leaders are agreed that the German armies must be decisively defeated in battle. That is why they have emphasized the "unconditional surrender." They are determined that no future rabble-rouser can appear on the scene and tell the German people that they were really not defeated in battle but were betrayed. That is what Hitler and the German militarists have been drilling into them from the day the guns of the last war ceased firing.

Realization of Defeat

In order to make the Germans realize that they have really been defeated in this war, the armistice will be signed by the Nazis themselves or by representatives of the German army. The last armistice was signed by delegates of the new republican government which had assumed power two days earlier. That gave the army the opportunity to say that it had been betrayed by the new democratic government and that the German armies had never really lost the war.

Unless the German armies surrender unconditionally before the Allies invade German soil, the Allies will march right into Berlin. Even if the surrender comes before Germany has been deeply invaded, invading armies are likely to occupy Germany. It is taken for granted that Germany will be occupied for an indefinite period of time after the war. The map on this page indicates one of the many reported divisions of occupation troops. Whether or not the Russian, British, and American armies will hold the specified zones, it is certain that the entire country will be placed under Allied military control.

Another immediate postwar objective of the Allies will be to destroy the power of both the Nazis and of the

The job of maintaining order and administering civil affairs in Germany after the armistice will be a gigantic one. The problems to be encountered there are entirely different from those of the occupied countries, for in the latter there are many persons in civilian positions who have never cooperated with the Nazis. In Germany, the Allied military authorities will have to start from scratch, for all non-Nazis have been so thoroughly weeded out that there will be no local officials to assist in administration. This will

Germany's eastern frontier. The Allies are not likely to leave the province of East Prussia separated from the rest of Germany by another Polish corridor which would serve as an excuse for another war. It is possible that Poland will be given East Prussia, together with other German territory in the east, to compensate for adjustments in the Russo-Polish frontier. Germany may even be deprived of territory in the west, particularly of the Rhineland, in order to strengthen the security of western Europe.



GERMAN GENERALS. The tumult within Germany is heightened by the split in the ranks of German military leaders

mean that the personnel of government in all the towns and cities, the personnel of the schools and the courts, will have to be ousted so that Nazism can be destroyed at the bottom as well as at the top.

The Allies are determined also that this time Germany shall be effectively disarmed, which means that not only will her armaments and munitions factories be destroyed, but that the means of converting other industries into war machines will be taken away.

One of the early tasks of the Allies will be to compel the Germans to make restitution for the damage they have inflicted upon the occupied countries. Not only has Germany directly looted much of the treasure of the continent, but she has taken over practically all the industrial ownership of Europe. Frequently, she has used methods which appeared legal to acquire ownership of the industries of Europe. The Allies have gone clearly on record as opposing whatever transfers of property ownership that have been made. In a formal declaration, they "reserve all their rights to declare invalid any transfers of, or dealings with, property rights and interests of any description whatsoever which are, or have been, situated in the occupied territories, whether such transfers or dealings have taken the form of open looting or plunder or of transactions apparently legal in form, even when they purport to be voluntarily effected."

These are a few of the immediate problems which will confront the Allies and a few of the conditions which must be met before any basis of peace can be built. What territorial adjustments will be made with respect to Germany have not yet been indicated by Allied leaders, even if they have been agreed upon. It is certain that Germany will not be permitted to retain any of the territory she has acquired by conquest or threat of conquest. At most, she can hope to retain only the territory she held in 1935.

It seems likely that certain territorial adjustments will be made on

whatever immediate terms are given to Germany, it is generally recognized that from the long-range point of view, the Germans themselves must undergo a profound change.

Until the world has the assurance that the Germany of the future will not become the menace to world peace that the Germany of the past has been, there will be restraints imposed and maintained. But it is recognized by nearly everyone that military occupation and the enforcement of restrictions cannot last forever. How long the Allied policy of restraints will last will depend upon how quickly the Germans change from within.

NEWS QUIZ



How Germany will be divided for policing after the war is not yet decided, but this map shows one possibility

after all other wars. There may be no formal treaty of peace. There may be a long transition period during which problems will be dealt with as they arise and adjustments made as they are needed. Such a process of peace-making would eliminate one of the greatest weaknesses of the Versailles Treaty, which incorporated all the conditions of peace into a single

German militarists. This time, the Allies are going to make sure that the German army will not withdraw to the Reich and quietly prepare for the next attempt to dominate the world. Not only will the leading Nazi officials be brought to trial for their crimes and atrocities, but members of the party will be driven from their civil service positions.

1. What new name and new policies were recently adopted by the CIO Political Action Committee?
2. What are the provisions of the Hatch Act and the Smith-Connally Act respecting the political activities of organizations?
3. What activities by industry are said by some labor leaders to consist of disseminating anti-Roosevelt propaganda?
4. What is the traditional attitude of the American Federation of Labor with respect to participation in politics?
5. In your opinion were the Versailles Treaty provisions with respect to Germany too "hard" or too "soft"?
6. It is often suggested that there should be no formal peace conference after this war. What alternative is possible and what are the arguments in favor of it?
7. Why does it matter whether the armistice agreement marking Germany's surrender is signed by the Nazis and their present army leaders or by the representatives of a new democratic German government that may replace the Nazi regime?
8. Compare the recent change in status for Heinrich Himmler with the apparent changes in the roles of Goering and Goebels in Germany.
9. What propaganda line has been followed by the Nazis in their effort to sustain home front morale?
10. What changes recently took place in the government of Japan?
11. What Latin American nation recently sent troops to fight with the Allies in Italy?
12. What proposals with respect to the government of India, recently offered by Mohandas Gandhi, were regarded as significant "concessions" on his part?

Points of View

What Authors and Editors Are Saying

(The ideas expressed in these columns should not be taken to represent the views of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.)

Terms for Italy

When Italy surrendered to the Allies last September, it was known that she did so under terms which had been

explicitly set forth in a written armistice agreement. These terms have never been made public, but they presumably deal with such matters as the postwar reparations which Italy will have to pay, revision of permanent boundaries for Italy and her empire, and the government and armed forces which Italy will be permitted to maintain after the war.

The present government of free Italy, under Prime Minister Ivano Bonomi, has agreed to carry out the conditions of surrender which had previously been accepted by King Victor Emmanuel III and Prime Minister Pietro Badoglio; but the Bonomi government believes that the time has come to make those terms publicly known. The Allied governments, for the present at least, insist that the terms should remain secret. Here is the issue, as explained by "Pertinax" in an article syndicated by the North American Newspaper Alliance:

This is the Italians' theme:
The Allies must cease to treat the Italians as enemies and co-belligerents at the same time. If they prefer to stand by the crushing armistice treaties im-

posed last September, the Allies can hardly expect the Italians to go on sharing in the war efforts. Let the Allies publish the armistice terms and the absurdity of the current state of affairs will be brought to light.

Besides, what aim can be served by the Allies' pretense of helping an Italian liberal regime get to its feet if they are going to enforce a peace settlement that unavoidably brings about its downfall? Would they act differently if they intended to plunge the land in chaos?

Equal Rights

In the long history of western civilization, women's status under law has never been identical with that of men. The trend in our own nation has been to give women more and more legal rights. Recently some reformers—mostly women—have urged that we go "all out" in the direction of equal rights by adopting an amendment to the federal constitution which would abolish all legal distinctions between the sexes. Proponents of the measure succeeded in having both major political parties endorse it in their 1944 platforms.

Many feminist leaders, and others, oppose the equal-rights amendment on the ground that it will not serve the interests of women, as its supporters claim. Arguing this side of the case, the *Washington Post* recently declared:

Innumerable state laws affecting the rights and privileges of women would be affected by passage of the proposed equal rights amendment. Laws governing divorce, social security, minimum wages, management of community property, etc., set up different standards and establish different kinds of rights for men and women. These differences are in many cases wholly justified. It would be madness to attempt to sweep them away by federal legislation calling for equal rights, without even trying to define those rights.

Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins is



CAPITAL CITY. A downtown scene in Montevideo, capital of Uruguay

especially concerned about the possible effect of such sweeping proposals on family life and on women in industry. Presumably the equal rights amendment looks toward abolition of protective industrial legislation designed to safeguard the health of women by limiting hours of work, prohibiting certain kinds of exhausting work, forbidding night work, etc. Secretary Perkins realizes that the emancipation of women will not be assisted by tearing down the protective safeguards that help to maintain working efficiency. . .

Undoubtedly many states have on their statute books anachronistic laws that deny women rights that should be accorded them as adult human beings. The way to correct such conditions is to bring pressure to bear upon state legislatures for revision or elimination of such laws. . . . The proposed federal amendment would, on the other hand, create inscrutable confusion by calling upon Congress to see that uniform laws dealing with the rights of men and women replaced the present countless state laws dealing with such rights.

Democratic Uruguay

The smallest country in South America is widely considered to be the most democratic. It is Uruguay, recently visited by Foster Hailey, correspondent of the *New York Times*, who sent the following report to his newspaper:

There is nothing spectacular about Uruguay. Her highest hill, the "Cuchilla Grande" (Big Knife), has an altitude of only 2,000 feet. She has no river such as the Amazon, no oil deposits such as are in Venezuela, no great pampas such as in Argentina. She has something far more precious, complete liberty of her people and, which is also important, greater freedom from want for all her citizens than most other countries.

Inflation, against which the present Government has taken little decisive action, now pinches the pocketbooks of her white-collar workers and laborers, but as far back as 1911 she began a program of social security that is advanced much beyond that of the United States today. Even her farm workers come under its provisions and enjoy higher wages and certainly more security than the agricultural laborers of probably any other country. . .

There is almost no illiteracy in Uruguay, which may partly account for the strong democratic sentiment of the country. Primary education is obligatory and all education, including the universities, is free. In 1941, Uruguay had 1,655 primary schools with an enrollment of 193,423 students. The teachers numbered 4,957, a ratio of one teacher for every forty-nine pupils. . .

There has never been any question which side she favored in the war or any fear in Washington that Nazi influence would wean her away from the side of the United Nations. . . . She broke relations with the Axis in January, 1942, after our entry into the war. The principal reason, apparently, why she has not declared war is that she has little to offer to the struggle and scorned the expedient of offering merely a token contribution in the hope of sharing in the victory. She disclaims any territory or political ambitions. She is the only country in South America that has diplomatic relations with Moscow. . .

Uruguay really works at being a democracy. It is no accident that young American newspaper men generally end up in Montevideo and file their dispatches from there without censorship, a circumstance that is embarrassing to the Uruguayan Foreign Office but a democratic right with which no one has even a thought of interfering.

"Accent on Youth" in Britain

During this year's presidential campaign we shall hear much about the relative merits of youth versus age as qualifications for public office. Some interesting statistics on this matter were recently presented by Erwin D. Canham in the *Christian Science Monitor*:

There are just 200 members of the British House of Commons who were first elected to that body between the ages of 21 and 30. There are, as far as research shows, 17 members of the U. S. Congress who were similarly elected.

Part of the American explanation is constitutional: "No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of 30 years." "No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of 25 years."

Thus it is that the "old" country recognizes the talent and significance of youth, giving young men high national opportunities far sooner than Americans. This doubtless goes far to explain the ability and skill of British public men. And of course, a President must have attained 35 years. There have undoubtedly been a score of British Prime Ministers younger than that, led by the redoubtable Pitt the Younger, who took the highest office at 25. Of great British parliamentarians, Gladstone entered the House of Commons at 23, Fox at 19, Peel at 21, Lloyd-George was 27, and Churchill was 26.

America, Russia, and the Future

This summer's combined drives against the Germans—by the Russians on the east and by the Allies on the west—mark a turning point in the war and a new hopeful development in the history of Russian-American relations, says Life magazine in a recent editorial:

Our invasion of Normandy set the Russians wild with joy; they mobbed and kissed Americans in the Moscow streets; it was the "Second Front." But Englishmen and Americans remained tense with hope and anxiety. Now we can all feel great. The Big Three are marching together. . . .

Russia is just about the only major power against which Americans, even in colonial times, have never fought. Though not allied, we sympathized with Russia in the Crimean War, and Russia was pro-Union in our Civil War. The simplest explanation of this long peace is geopolitical. We are both great continental powers on opposite sides of the globe. Geopolitically, our enemies have always lain between us; we form a natural pincer against anybody who disturbs the world's peace.

Our diplomatic and sentimental relations with Russia, however, have been something else again. Imperial Russia was the last great power to recognize the republican U. S.; we were the last to recognize the Soviet Union. Our most forthright contributions to international diplomacy—the Monroe Doctrine and the Open Door doctrine—were both directed against Russia, the first because the Czar was the declared foe of Latin

American independence, the second because he wanted to gobble up Manchuria. At times, to be sure, we have felt quite chummy with Russia. . . . But in 150 years of common history, there have been only about seven months during which Americans either approved of or wholly trusted the Russian government.

Those seven months were from



Stalin and Roosevelt at the Teheran Conference

March to October, 1917, when the Prince Lvov and Kerensky regimes ran Russia before Lenin came to power. We hailed these moderate democrats with the greatest enthusiasm. It is now clear that these were seven months of almost complete self-deception on our part. Our enthusiasm for Russia's democratic revolution blinded us to the facts. We were fooled because we had created a Russia and a Russian government in our own image.

Americans are still all too prone

to this kind of self-deception about Russia. She appears to us either as god, devil, or another America. In Irkutsk, Vice President Wallace told his audience that no two countries are more alike. There are similarities certainly, and a marked and hopeful parallelism in our foreign policies and national interests. But to translate this parallelism into a blindly sentimental identity of aims and character is to repeat our mistake of 1917. . . .

A Communist dictatorship can no more win U. S. approval than a Czarist dictatorship; but if it is not militantly imperialist we can collaborate with the one as we did with the other. The only basic question that Stalin's Communism poses for our foreign policy is whether his word is good and we two nations can trust each other, or whether the noble ends of Communism still justify deceit. That is why these two months of June and July, 1944, are so important. The military commitments made at Teheran have been kept on both sides. Both sides have observed the first and great commandment of international relations: "pacta sunt servanda" (keep your word). Under that commandment, and without self-deceiving hopes or fears, we can wage invincible war together against our common enemy. Under it we can also wage peace because our interests in peace are parallel. This new Era of Good Feeling is a foretaste of how the postwar peace can be kept. In a new sense, the Big Three is a reality.

